

The Joint Chiefs in Europe—J. A. del Vayo

# THE *Nation*

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August 13, 1949

## Liberty on the Campus

*The Threat to Academic Freedom in America*

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

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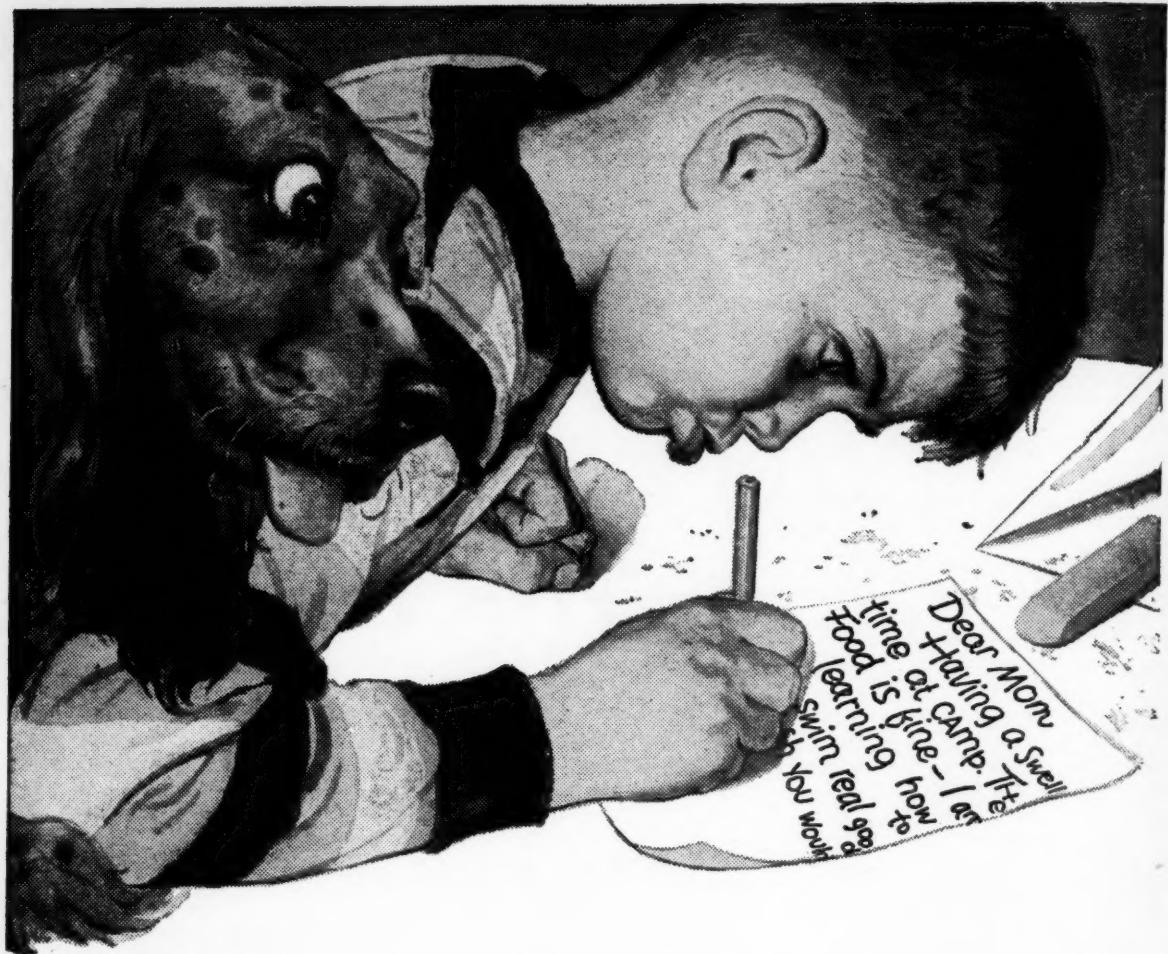
Thinking Makes It So - - *Joseph Wood Krutch*

Korea's Impending Explosion - - *Andrew Roth*

No Longer Good Neighbors - *Samuel G. Inman*

Men, Women and Marriage - - *David Riesman*

Ulster: Persecution and Progress - *Griffin Barry*



## What Makes Buzzie write like this?

**BUZZIE** is just learning to write.

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### AUTOMATIC SAVING IS SURE SAVING — U.S. SAVINGS BONDS



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# THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 169

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 13, 1949

NUMBER 7

## *The Shape of Things*

AS A REVIEW OF HISTORIC EVENTS AND a compilation of pertinent documents the State Department's monumental White Paper on China will be an invaluable source book for years to come. As an apologia for American policy in China it is unconvincing. Perhaps, as Mr. Acheson suggests in his letter of transmittal to the President, China was doomed by the reactionary and corrupt ineptness of its ruling clique. Perhaps, as he also suggests, the Communist drive is merely a facade behind which Russian power is accomplishing its imperialist ends. The first interpretation seems to war against the second, and so do the voluminous facts about Chinese internal disintegration set forth in the report itself, but under either interpretation State Department policy has been ill-designed to produce peace and democracy in China. It has neither succeeded in strengthening the regime of Chiang Kai-Shek to a point where it could resist the advance of Communism nor brought effective pressure to bear to force a coalition government on the terms proposed by General Marshall. To have done the first would have involved active American intervention at the close of the war of a sort and on a scale Congress would never have tolerated, particularly at a time when Russia was not regarded as a global menace and when America was single-mindedly intent on bringing all the troops home—and then demobilizing them fast. A deal with the Communists would have meant putting them in a position to dominate the government of China, if not immediately, at least within a few years. This would have spared much blood and prevented the chaos that today is Communism's best ally in the remaining Nationalist areas. It might also have created a situation in which American influence, backed by American trade, could have moderated the tempo of revolution. But instead of following either course our government abandoned its effort to procure a settlement and then continued to give the Nationalists just enough money and arms to keep their forces in the field and to enable the Communists to replenish their own supplies by capturing or purchasing what they needed from the Nationalists. In other words, we helped keep the war going but failed to prevent Communist victory.

THIS CONCLUSION EMERGES PLAINLY FROM Mr. Acheson's covering letter. But it would not be so bad if, having stated the hard facts as he sees them, he had drawn from them a sensible conclusion. Since he admits that the tremendous revolution now in progress in China is not going to be stopped by us, the chief question remaining unanswered is whether or not the new government will be wholly under Russian domination. By our support of the Kuomintang generals we have killed all good feeling among the Communist leadership—and, by most reports, in "liberated" China as a whole. We might change this by accepting the revolution as an accomplished fact and dealing with the new order in a friendly and businesslike way, recognizing that it has replaced a regime, and a system, officially characterized by us as decadent, oppressive and incompetent. Unfortunately Mr. Acheson's statement offers little hope that such a policy will be adopted. Expressing his faith that China, however ruthlessly it may be exploited "in the interest of a foreign imperialism" will ultimately "throw off the foreign yoke," the Secretary of State plainly intimates that we intend to have a hand in bringing that about. "I consider," he said, "that we should encourage all developments in China which . . . work toward this end." Do these words mean what they seem to mean? Is the State Department prepared to support any revolution by a war lord with a handful of arms and men at his disposal; any plot launched by Chiang and his henchmen? Is it planning to subsidize a right-wing government in exile based in Formosa, or a new anti-Comintern axis generated out of Chiang's talks with Quirino and Rhee? It is one thing to warn the Chinese Communists against aggression. It is quite another to offer American backing for permanent civil strife in China. \*

APPARENTLY CARDINAL SPELLMAN BY HIS attack on Mrs. Roosevelt has not only succeeded in causing embarrassment to many Catholics, but has ruined the chance for any federal aid to schools by this session of Congress. The subject was a hot one for Members of Congress in any case, but the sharpening of the issue over federal appropriations for parochial education has placed them in a real dilemma. Non-Catholic voters, and especially Protestant ones, will be more than ever on their guard against a measure which looks like state

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*The Nation*, published weekly and copyright, 1949, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 19, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

*Information to Libraries:* *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

subsidy of any church, while numerous Catholic voters will follow the Cardinal in branding as intolerant those who adhere to the American tradition in this matter; the Cardinal's attempt to restore friendly relations with Mrs. Roosevelt will not, we fear, remove the suspicion with which many Catholics now regard her. The consequence is that many a Representative cannot record a vote on any bill in the field without running the risk of offending a large part of his constituency. Meanwhile the efficiency and standards of public education must suffer. We note with gratification that a few prominent Catholics have registered their dissent from the Cardinal's position.

\* \*

IT HAPPENED IN BROOKLYN AND WE ONLY hope the Russians don't hear about it. It seems that a couple of athletic young fellows named Alfred McGuire and John Monks bought themselves a war-surplus rescue life raft—bought it, understand, with their own dough. Then they took it to Rockaway Beach and started to shove it off with themselves on it. Why not? They are swimming champions, both of them; and it is their raft, don't forget that. Along came a lifeguard, one Arthur Hess, aged eighteen, and told them they couldn't launch any boat, not even their own. So naturally they went anyhow. Then everything happened: they were chased by the lifeguard in a catamaran; also by the Coast Guard, a police boat, and finally a PBY patrol bomber. It was air power that finally won the war (might tell Moscow that) and forced the oarsmen to row back to shore and climb into a police car. In the Brooklyn-Queens Night Court they were fined \$10 each by Magistrate Henry A. Soffer who lives in Rockaway Park himself; he also said it was against the law to take the raft out—their own raft, mind you. Well, we don't know. We aren't lawyers, thanks be. But we believe in private property, at least in life rafts, and in free enterprise, at least to go paddling in your own craft, and so we suggest that Mr. McGuire and Mr. Monks look up the law. Whatever Rockaway Beach and Magistrate Soffer say, it is our opinion that under the Constitution a guy can push his own surplus life raft off a beach, especially at low tide. If not, then the Russians will have a pretty embarrassing item to bring up at the next meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

\* \*

SENATOR HICKENLOOPER'S ATTACK ON THE Atomic Energy Commission backfired, because the Senator was unable to produce any evidence of what appeared to the public as "incredible mismanagement." His fishing expedition to find appointments that might seem dubious on loyalty grounds was made unproductive by the Congressional committee's requirement that no-

body be smeared in public life before the full facts were ascertained. Chairman Lilienthal came out of the encounter, as he usually does come out of such encounters, with increased stature. However, the affair was used to exploit Congressional jealousy of the commission by placing several petty limitations on its power. Henceforth no atomic "secret" may be shared with any other country without the express consent of Congress; the existing law on this subject may no longer be interpreted, as in the past, by the commission alone. No new project costing more than \$500,000 may be undertaken without informing the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Finally, all applicants for AEC fellowships, even on non-secret work, must be cleared by the FBI—a provision likely to cost the country the services of many promising young scientists who do not like the idea of secret police snooping into their views and private lives. We may expect other attacks on the AEC from time to time, perhaps stimulated in part by a desire for election publicity, in part by Republican designs to discredit the Administration, and in part, no doubt, by the fear of the private utilities that this new, immeasurable source of power will not be allowed to fall into their grasp.

### Loyalty Timetable

January 10, 1949

Samuel Wahrhaftig, political analyst for civil affairs division of American Military Government in Berlin, ordered to return to Washington "on suspicion of disloyalty." Given no opportunity to defend himself.

March 9

Wahrhaftig notified of his dismissal from Department of Army. Charge based on examination of his record by F. B. I. read, "... you have been identified variously as a communist or a pro-communist and as a follower of those theories of world communism advocated by Trotsky."

March 24

Wahrhaftig filed intention to appeal decision to Army Review Board. Immediately began collecting evidence to clear his name.

May 19

In secret meeting held by Army Review Board to consider charges, Wahrhaftig for first time given opportunity to defend himself.

August 3

Wahrhaftig pronounced "not guilty." "No substance" found in charges brought against him by army. Reinstatement with back pay recommended.

*Total Elapsed Time. . . . 7 months minus 7 days.  
Total Cost to Wahrhaftig and Government. . . . Unrevealed thousands of dollars.*

### Big Steel's Myopia

If the United States Steel Corporation were capable of embarrassment, it would have blushed at the announcement that it had made the highest profits in history for the second quarter of 1949, at the very moment when it was about to explain to the Presidential Fact-finding Commission why it should not increase wages. As Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers recently remarked, employers argue that wages should not be increased during inflation because that would boost prices, and should not be increased during recession because then profits are not big enough. But here is a corporation caught with the biggest profits ever, at a time when the business cycle is swinging downward.

It was easy for Robert Nathan to prove that Big Steel could grant the thirty-cent-an-hour package demanded by the union out of the saving from the recent fall in the cost of materials alone, without any encroachment on profits, provided the recent volume of production keeps up. No doubt the company will reply that a dip in production has already occurred and is likely to go further. It may also allege that a rise in the cost of materials is to be anticipated if and when production picks up. But in either case there would be plenty of margin out of which to pay a wage increase.

We can think of only two plausible arguments against granting the union's demand, but they are arguments that the employers cannot consistently make. The first is that the gains represented by the enormous profits—resulting from high production and rapidly increased efficiency—should be passed on to all consumers through lower prices instead of being concentrated in the hands of the steel workers. Organized wage earners in highly profitable industries have suffered less from inflation than many other consumers, because they have been better able to push their wages up. It would benefit more people and better help to stabilize the economy if those at the lower end of the income scale could be enabled to buy more through a reduced cost of living. A substantial decrease in steel prices would greatly help that outcome. But Big Steel has rarely lowered prices in the past, and shows no intention of doing so now. It is also opposed to granting power to government to control its prices. On the contrary, when in July, 1947, the Council of Economic Advisers urgently requested steel not to increase prices, it promptly did so. If the fact-finders should now conclude that prices ought to be reduced instead of wages being raised, there would be no way of enforcing its recommendation. And it would be better to distribute the excess profits to the steel workers than to leave them untouched.

The other possible argument is that if the companies are to produce enough steel to sustain the higher standard of living which we hope to reach in the future, there

must be a great expansion of steel capacity, and that surplus profits are needed to make the requisite investment. But on this ground, too, Big Steel is vulnerable. The economists of the Administration have consistently urged a larger program of steel expansion; the industry's spokesmen have as consistently opposed it. Their argument has been that demand for steel will not increase as much as the government believes, that they have plenty of capacity now—in fact, more than enough. Crows of delight arose from all the business writers when, on account of the current recession, steel began to have "excess" capacity. "See how wrong the planners are?" they chortled. Of course that conclusion was a non-sequitur, because the argument was about the adequacy of steel capacity several years hence, not during a probably brief recession. But the industry could scarcely make an about-face on this issue in the wage hearings. If the fact-finders should decide that profits ought to be reinvested in expansion, there is no assurance that their policy would be adopted.

Because of the narrow vision of those who control the industry and the lack of any public control over their policy, we are confined, in practice, to a choice between granting the union's demands and leaving the industry with unnecessarily high profits. This fact will remain, no matter what defense the employers may manage to put on the record.

## Joint Chiefs in Europe

BY J. A. DEL VAYO

Paris, August 7 (By radio)

ATHER forty hours in Paris, I can say without hesitation that my analysis of the real attitude of Europe toward war (an analysis made in New York, and printed in *The Nation* during the last few months) was absolutely correct. If during the summer of 1948 some Frenchmen let themselves become intoxicated for a moment by American talk about war, in the summer of 1949 ninety-eight out of one hundred completely reject the idea of a fatal clash between West and East. This widespread feeling made it very difficult for the Communists to organize any kind of impressive demonstration last Friday, August 5, against the presence here of the American chiefs of staff. As I mingled with the demonstrators gathered in the Rue St. Laurentin I heard an old Frenchwoman, trying to protect her newsstand from the crowd, exclaim angrily: "I am more fearful of the American tourists taking pictures of the crowd and of the police than I am of the Communists."

The tone of the meeting was quite peaceful, fulfilling the slogan of its organizers—"for peace and progress." By contrast I recall the outburst in front of the American Embassy twenty years ago protesting the execution

of Sacco and Vanzetti: that day the stones of the streets of Paris served as bullets and more than two hundred persons were injured. Last Friday the only incident worth reporting was the arrest and detention for a few hours of Marie Claude Vaillant, a Communist Deputy. The fact that she was chosen by her party as the central figure of the protest meeting had great political significance. This dramatic and striking woman was the heroine of the Nuremberg trial; her testimony seized and held the attention of every European who had fought the Nazis during the occupation. In leading the demonstration against the staff chiefs at the Place de la Concorde, she symbolized the revolt of the average Frenchman, and of other neighbors of Germany, against the policy of turning Germany into one of the Allied military pawns in the great West-East chess game. Of the dozens of thousands of words written in the Communist press during the past week, there was only one line that impressed Frenchmen of all parties. It was featured in the posters so generously displayed on the Paris streets, and read: "The American chiefs of staff are coming from Germany; they want to rearm Germany again."

Germany remains the center of all European worries. No policy that includes Germany as a Western ally will ever be popular on this side of the Atlantic. The Germans themselves are not making the task of their friends in Washington and London particularly easy. In their first post-war opportunity (the electoral campaign for the new Assembly) to express themselves without calculation or restraint, they are showing their real feelings. As election day, August 14, approaches, Western Germany increasingly is becoming the tribune for all kinds of violent attacks on the Allies. Even the darling of the British Laborites, Kurt Schumacher, is getting on the nerves of Mr. Bevin. The British Foreign Office has asked for the full text of the speech by this leader of the Social Democrats in which Mr. Schumacher is reported to have said: "The British fought the war merely to benefit their profiteers who wanted to rid themselves of German competition."

All signs underline the fact that the people of Europe do not believe in war, do not want to hear about war, and are not going to fight in a war they consider absolutely unnecessary. It is on this estimate of public opinion that the Russians are building their diplomatic strategy. The accord, however limited, reached in Paris at the June meeting of the four Foreign Ministers, delivered the first severe blow to the idea that nothing on earth could bring about a rapprochement between Moscow and Washington. I predict that at the September conference of the Foreign Ministers in Washington, as well as in the coming session of the United Nations Assembly, the Russians will take a line that will make any further talk about war still more ridiculous.

# Liberty on the American Campus

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

## I. A Bill of Particulars

London

**N**O GENERALIZATIONS about a system so vast and so complex as the American university system can be true without important reservations. What I report, therefore, suffers from the facts, first that it must be built upon a brief visit in which I saw only some ten universities and talked with only some fifty members of the great legion of American professors, and, second, that although my journey ranged from New York to Los Angeles, I might well have made a journey of as wide a sweep and had none of the experiences which fell to my lot. I claim no more for the conclusions here expressed than that they are elements in the American academic situation of which account must be taken. Where what I have to say is matter of public knowledge, I have not hesitated to use names. Where information was given to me in confidence, I have deliberately made it impossible for the witch-hunters to identify the institution and teachers involved.

Colleges and universities cannot, of course, contract out of the general environment in which they function, and since at the moment a wave of intolerance, sometimes reaching the proportions of hysteria, is sweeping the United States, it is wholly natural for academic institutions to be affected. These are, moreover, in one of those phases of expansion in which they need large sums of money; and the men who rule them would not be human if they did not desire to avoid having the light of hostile publicity beat down upon them. It is not only that they do not want to be labeled Communist, in a period when communism is both feared and disliked; it is also that their very function as places for examining doctrines about which men have deep emotions makes them exceptionally susceptible to attack. Granted the character of American universities and colleges, and the special relation of their presidents to boards of trustees or to state or municipal boards of regents, and it becomes almost an axiom of academic behavior that discretion is the better part of valor. This is particularly true in the social sciences, which are clearly on the firing line. But discretion has also become important in other fields—nuclear physics, for example, and botany, where the acute controversies in the outside world may easily

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make even the most careful statement by a university teacher a matter of angry public discussion. Men who feel strongly upon the theme of his utterance will not hesitate to bring the whole institution into the battle and challenge it to prove its orthodoxy or its purity, as the case may be.

I visited America under the auspices of the Sidney Hillman Foundation—a body founded to commemorate the achievement of that great trade-union leader—to lecture upon the place of the trade union in the modern community. The foundation arranged the program of my lectures. It suggested to a number of academic institutions that I should give a lecture there, the expenses of my visit being borne by the foundation. So far as my knowledge goes, no university approached declined to cooperate with the foundation. No difficulty seems to have been caused by the foundation's trade-union origins or by the fact that I was both a Socialist and one who had recently published a controversial book on American democracy, the argument of which had aroused a good deal of criticism and indignation, not least among that group of business men and corporation lawyers from whom boards of trustees and regents are largely drawn. I ought, therefore, to begin by emphasizing that fact. Despite the excited state of public opinion on these matters, no American college president declined the proposal of the Sidney Hillman Foundation that he should offer to me the hospitality of his campus. I should like here to record my gratitude for that receptivity.

**M**Y arrival in the United States coincided with the dismissal of certain professors from the University of Washington after an investigation of its faculty by a committee of the state legislature which was anxious to get rid of any teachers who were Communists or sympathizers with communism. As a result of this incident, I was met in each of the universities I visited by a group of reporters, in the main kindly and even friendly, but with one or more among them anxious to put questions to me, as a Socialist, which would then be used in their papers to suggest that the university, by permitting me to speak in its auditorium, had lent itself to the service of un-American activities. The authorities at the University of California at Los Angeles withdrew their invitation to me to speak there, not, indeed, on the ground that I held undesirable opinions but because, they alleged, under university regulations a visitor could not speak at Los Angeles without also speaking at Berk-

eley, which the Hillman Foundation had not proposed I should do. On inquiry by the director of the Hillman Foundation, the presidents of the two branches of the university stated that there was no such rule. It seemed evident that the authorities at Los Angeles, perhaps because a committee of the California legislature had recently investigated the university, did not wish to incur the risk of having a Socialist speak on their campus. I ought to add that this incident, to my discomfort, was widely and for the most part inaccurately discussed in the press.



Harold J. Laski

Sellgson

that the other be transferred to a nearby sister university he had previously desired I should not visit. The other was a warm and generous invitation to speak at the Law School Forum of Harvard University—a body, of course, for which the president and corporation of that great institution have no responsibility. When, with the permission of the Hillman Foundation, I accepted this invitation, the forum applied to the Cambridge Education Board for the use of an auditorium in one of its high schools. This was refused on the ground that I was a Communist, hostile to all religious, and an enemy of the Roman Catholic church, these being the strongly expressed views of the mayor of Cambridge, Mr. Neville. (Perhaps I should point out that, were I a Communist, I should not be permitted to be a member of the British Labor Party, and that, while myself an agnostic, I have written for over thirty years in defense of religious freedom. My "enmity" to the Roman Catholic church consists in the public and energetic expression of regret that its clerical leaders should support so strongly the bloody and barbarous regime of a fascist reactionary like Franco.) Apart from these few incidents I was received with a kindness and courtesy that were almost overwhelming, and the questions I had to meet, though sometimes rather wide in their range—including the frequent suggestion that King George VI has the same relation to his ministers as King George III—were also marked by kindness and courtesy.

Like every visitor, therefore, I found that once you have been granted a visa the welcome and the hospitality you receive are far beyond anything you can hope to repay. And that remains true even when one allows for the small number of journals and commentators who specialize in attacking and misrepresenting anyone who, like myself, suffers from the dual handicap of being a Socialist and, in spite of a deep affection for America and Americans, of not being prepared to transform himself temporarily into a belated imitation of Dr. Pangloss on all things American. But the freedom I enjoyed had its roots, or some of its roots, in the fact that I was a foreigner and that I would be back again in England after a few weeks. The real issue is the freedom available to men and women who live by teaching.

In the five weeks I was in America the legislative investigation of the University of Washington resulted in the dismissal of two professors and the enforced resignation of a third, in circumstances of indefensible insult; the ground was either membership in the Communist Party or too close relations with it. The University of Chicago and Roosevelt College were investigated by a committee of the Illinois legislature with the "expert" assistance of the egregious J. B. Matthews, to discover whether they were not, in fact, nests of Communists singing birds; I note with pride that the chancellor of the University of Chicago, Dr. Robert Hutchins, and the president of Roosevelt College, Dr. E. J. Sparling, both refused to sell the pass of academic freedom, and defended it with a vigor which seems to have surprised the committee. President Sparling showed exceptional courage, for I know that he was strongly urged by some of his trustees and some of his faculty to agree that if he had any Communists on his staff they ought to be dismissed; this he steadfastly refused to do. At the University of Oregon a young biologist was driven from his post because he announced his belief in the theories of Lysenko. In one California college—which I am not permitted to name—a botanist working on a problem connected with soil fertilization decided to shift into a quite different field when he was told that his results might be interpreted as supporting Lysenko's theories.

AT ONE of the universities I visited there is in residence on the campus the ex-head of the institution, now in charge of military training and head of the Military Intelligence Section of the War Department for a region comprising eight states; he not only reports upon the "attitudes" of the university teachers but summons some of them before him, especially the younger ones, when he disapproves of remarks they are supposed to have made, threatening them with serious consequences if similar reports about their attitude should again come his way. In another university a group of four assistant professors told me they felt compelled to hold back from

publication a history of industrial relations in their state because they feared that, in the present temper, they might endanger their jobs. When at the request of one of the deans of another university I recommended a brilliant young economist for a vacant post, I was told at once that he could not possibly prove acceptable to the trustees since he had published two books in four years "consciously"—I quote this adverb—written from the angle of Marxian socialism. Finally, a close friend of mine in the East, a scholar of high academic distinction, told me that the president and dean of his institution were agreed that so long as they had any influence Justice Felix Frankfurter, Professor Max Lerner, and I would never be invited to lecture there, because we were regarded as "influences likely to disturb the students." I add that, in this instance, I know both the president and

the dean quite intimately. Both like to call themselves "liberals" and would repudiate any desire to limit free expression on the campus of their university. They may be wholly justified in their decision to exclude me; but he knows little of American academic life who does not know that Justice Frankfurter in his professorial days was one of the really great teachers of our time, and that at Sarah Lawrence, Harvard, and Williams Mr. Lerner won an instant place in the hearts of his students, not only by the quality of his teaching, but by the devoted interest he showed in their personal problems.

Each of these instances is a concrete one which I have taken the pains to verify. In a second article I shall comment upon certain general conditions which I believe, from long talks with American colleagues whom I trust, to be widely prevalent.

## Korea's Impending Explosion

BY ANDREW ROTH

*Seoul-Hongkong, July*

**A**S the summer's sun bakes the hillsides, the Korean political barometer creeps menacingly past the "danger" mark. In the drab streets of Seoul, capital of United States-sponsored South Korea, the slogans of the cocky, militantly rightist youth groups become increasingly aggressive. South Korea's neurotic right-wing government leaders clamor stridently for United States help to "unify" Korea—that is, for the South to conquer the North. Meanwhile, Soviet-sponsored North Korea trains more agents to infiltrate across the border and take the leadership of local rebellions in the South. On the thirty-eighth parallel borderline which separates the extreme rightist regime of South Korea from the extreme leftist regime of North Korea, exchanges between trigger-happy outposts frequently produce pint-sized battles. This border has become one of the most precarious frontiers of the "cold war."

When the last combat units of the United States Army departed at the beginning of July, leaving behind a training mission of about 500 men, the situation became more unstable. The American occupation forces in South Korea had undoubtedly deterred aggressive action by the North Koreans. But they also served as a check on irresponsible actions by the headstrong South Korean leaders.

The United States Army was under strong pressure to leave. With the Chinese Communists in full control of Manchuria, South Korea became strategically indefensi-

ble. Further occupation became politically indefensible as well because the United States had promised the U. N. it would withdraw and the Soviets had moved out of North Korea last December. American diplomats and military men on the spot will admit in private that they have left behind enough supplies and training personnel to train and equip a South Korean Army of 100,000 regulars and 200,000 reserves which—together with the hundreds of thousands of heavily militarized youth group members—should be enough for defense against any attack by the North Koreans alone.

The moderates on both sides of the border have been squeezed into silence. In the South the tone is set by the wealthy refugees from the North and the advocates of a "holy war" against communism. In the North the rallying cry is sounded by tortured refugees from the South and by the zealots for whom communism represents the ultimate in human progress. Virtually all the advocates of moderation in the South Korean National Assembly have been arrested.

An even more ominous sign of the deepening crisis was the assassination at the end of June of the famed right-wing leader and veteran terrorist, Kim Koo.

I interviewed Kim Koo less than a month before he was killed. Politically and socially, Kim Koo was as far to the right as President Syngman Rhee. The strength of Kim Koo's Korean Independence Party came in large part from Korean landlords. He was as anti-Soviet as Dr. Rhee. But Kim Koo detested Koreans who had collaborated with the Japanese, while Dr. Rhee has surrounded himself with wealthy former collaborators. And Kim Koo favored negotiation and compromise in order to

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achieve a peaceful unification of Korea in contrast to Syngman Rhee's warlike policy. These two senior rightist leaders came to a clear parting of the ways in 1948 as a result of the U. N.-sponsored elections. Kim Koo and the moderate rightist leader Kimm Kyu-sic refused to take part in the elections, on the ground that since North Korea was not participating it would harden the existing division of the country.

Kim Koo and Kimm Kyu-sic further angered Dr. Rhee (and the Americans as well) by conferring with the North Korean leaders in April, 1948. Little came out of this conference, but when I saw Kim Koo and Kimm Kyu-sic at the end of May, 1949, they were both hopeful that a peaceful unification of the North and South could be achieved. One of the reasons for Kim Koo's belief in peaceful unification was his feeling that in an armed conflict the North would win.

Dr. Rhee was so enraged by the position of Kim Koo and Kimm Kyu-sic that he attempted to prevent members of the U. N. Commission on Korea from seeing them. Dr. Rhee attacked them as "traitors" who were "being used by the Communists" and said that a "civil war" might erupt if the commission saw them.

After Kim Koo's assassination, Dr. Rhee proclaimed: "Kim Koo and I have been associated with each other like brothers." This is a cold-blooded untruth which can only fool people ignorant of Korea. It is understandable that Dr. Rhee should want to clear himself, because if the men around him were not directly responsible for Kim Koo's death, then the virulently bitter atmosphere which Dr. Rhee has done so much to create certainly is.

**N**ORTH Korea has recently proposed a nation-wide election to establish a constituent assembly to reunite Korea. To have any value such an election would have to be supervised by a truly representative U. N. Commission on Korea, strong enough to restrain repressive police activity on *both* sides and permit moderates to run and be openly supported. Only American economic pressure could force Dr. Rhee to allow a really free election. And although unity would save the United States \$150,000,000 a year in aid to Korea, it would probably cost the United States a political ally. It is likely that a left-center coalition, tending in the long run to be pulled into China's orbit, would come to power. For Korea is like China—only more so.

Korea's struggle, like the struggle in China, is one between a rightist party drawing its strength from the "haves" and a leftist party drawing its strength from the "have-nots"—in a society characterized by pressures for change. The Korean Democratic Nationalist Party (KDNP), which dominates Dr. Rhee's South Korea, is the equivalent of the Kuomintang. Like the Kuomintang, the KDNP is fundamentally a landlords' party.

In China the Generalissimo was rather kind to Chinese who had collaborated with the Japanese. In Korea,

Dr. Rhee has been even kinder. He allowed the leading economic collaborator, Pak Heung-sik, to finance him. Recently, and only as a result of considerable public pressure, Pak Heung-sik has come to trial.

Much of the evidence against these collaborators has been collected by the National Assembly's "Special Committee on National Traitors," using its own police because the regular police force is filled with collaborators. Early in June the headquarters of the anti-quisling agency was raided by the regular police, who seized documents and arrested the special police. When the committee's chairman tried to stop them he was told, "We do this on the personal orders of President Rhee." Afterward, the police were forced to set free the twenty-two prisoners they had taken on this raid. Sixteen of them had broken ribs, skull injuries, or broken eardrums.

Like the Kuomintang, South Korea has plenty of secret policemen. My hotel was visited nearly every day by police who asked the hotel employees whom I had been seeing. University professors sent word they wanted to talk to *The Nation's* correspondent but did not dare.

To parallel Chiang Kai-shek's claim of Chinese supremacy, stated in "China's Destiny," Dr. Rhee has his "Ilmin (One People) Doctrine." Like Chiang Kai-shek, who had several German-trained Chinese as important advisers, Dr. Rhee has German-educated Dr. Ahn Ho-sang, his Education Minister. Dr. Ahn is an open admirer of Nazism who has already purged the school system of more than 2,000 teachers who were either inclined to the left or "who did not make their political beliefs clear." He has organized a Students National Guard on the model of the Hitler Jugend. And he has proclaimed, "No newspaper opposing the government can be tolerated in this country. . . ."

Foreign business men with recent experience in both China and Korea complain that corruption in Korea is even worse than in Kuomintang China. The degree to which it has penetrated the highest Korean circles is shown by the charges lodged against Miss Louise Yim, Minister of Commerce and Industry, and one of Dr. Rhee's favorite associates. An inspection committee found she had violated the law by raising substantial funds for her reelection from firms under her supervision. And Miss Yim's irregularities might never have been disclosed had she not refused to yield her job to a claimant belonging to a competing clique within the government.

**I**N MANY ways North Korea mirrors the Communist-dominated portion of China. Little wonder, for three of the five top North Korean leaders are products of Yenan, war-time capital of the Chinese Communists. Choe Yong-gun, Commander-in-Chief of the North Korean People's Army, and Kim Mu-cong, his deputy, were for many years high-ranking leaders of the Chinese Communist Army. Kim Tu-bong headed a training

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school and the Korean Independence League, both of which were situated in Yenan. He is now Chairman of the dominant North Korean Labor (Communist) Party, which was sponsored by the Soviet authorities.

The Korean Communists have modeled themselves largely on the Chinese Communists even in terminology. Thus, they use the term "liberated areas" to describe the areas in South Korea where Communist-led insurgents have temporarily wrested control from the South Korean authorities. There is one vital difference, however, between Korean Communist land reform and that of the Chinese Communists. The Chinese Communists redistribute the *ownership* of land, while the North Koreans redistribute the *use* of the land, keeping the title in hands of the village "People's Council." This is reported to have aroused some resentment by the North Korean peasants. It is probably an indication of Soviet influence because, with communal ownership it will be easier for the North Koreans to convert to collective farms on the Soviet model.

In Korea the United States created a government whose ideals are much closer to fascism than democracy. This was not done entirely wilfully. The American occupation authorities would have preferred a more moderate rightist than Dr. Rhee. But they permitted the development of conditions which made Dr. Rhee's emergence inevitable. To combat communism and stop the advance of Soviet influence the Americans allied themselves with extreme anti-Communists who have used all the totalitarian techniques of police terrorism, torture, and suppression of liberties for which Americans are wont to condemn communism. The United States wanted a conservative, anti-Communist state but spawned a rightist police-state. The Russians, on their part, spawned a leftist police-state.

Under these conditions the United Nations Commission on Korea is almost useless. It has been boycotted by the Soviet Union and its allies and thus is completely anti-Communist in composition. Its efforts, harried by the South Koreans, are completely ignored by the North Koreans.

**U**NLIKE the Chinese Communists who won power by their own efforts, the North Korean Communists have leaned very heavily on the Soviet occupying authorities. They show many of the signs of an imposed regime, particularly in their fawning propaganda. Apparently they find it necessary to thank Joseph Stalin for their liberation in almost every radio broadcast and to pretend that the Soviets won both the European and the Pacific wars practically unaided.

The South Koreans in their turn are even more dependent upon the United States for survival than is Kuomintang China. Korea as a whole is a rather wealthy, well-balanced little state, but South Korea has two-thirds of almost all the minerals, and most of the electric power and fertilizer-producing plants are located in the North. Thus the United States—which has done some very creditable things indeed in the economic field—has had to plow in some \$250,000,000 in food, fertilizer, and raw materials just to keep the South Korean economy afloat. The current plan is to spend \$150,000,000 for the coming year because otherwise, as Dean Acheson has warned, "South Korea will go in two or three months." However, even with this substantial contribution, it is doubtful that South Korea will make very much progress toward recovery because, as in Kuomintang China, South Korea's corrupt, clique-ridden government is more interested in fighting communism militarily than competing with it economically.

## Ulster: Persecution and Progress

BY GRIFFIN BARRY

London

**E**IRE, a state associated with the British Crown only "in external relations" (and very few of them) passed out of being some weeks ago and the Republic of Ireland was born into an independence that seems unreal. Dangerous one day, even, the times in western Europe being what they are. However, the Irish wanted it.

A grievance remains, of course—partition. At the Ul-

**GRIFFIN BARRY**, a former correspondent for the London Daily Herald, has spent over a year in Eire gathering material for a forthcoming book on postwar Ireland.

ster border, men of the same race meet in perpetual collision even when no blood is shed, as nowadays it rarely is. Here stands the fence between two religions and between the urban and the rural ways of life. Toward this impasse the British attitude *seemed* unassailable. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, said: "If Irishmen themselves will come together and make their own agreements, this government will willingly consider the results." What could be fairer? With the machinery of democracy provided, and negotiation not ruled out, the ring is held until these contestants get over their reverberating bad temper. That looks like imperialism at its modern best.

Surprisingly, the Ireland bill brought on an attack of Labor Party indiscipline without equal so far. More than sixty dissents came from within the party. Labor members' abstentions amounted to many more. Dissent came from rising young men who have careers to lose and can ill afford to quarrel with the big brass of the party. Few have Irish blood themselves and not many have a considerable Irish Catholic vote in their constituencies, either. The dissents arose, apparently, from a principle. Absentees and dissenters alike were admonished by Mr. Attlee for their breach of discipline and five young career men lost their jobs as parliamentary secretaries to Socialist ministers. Penalties were paid cheerfully. The bill passed, but not until nearly 200 members of all parties, with a very large proportion from Labor, had failed to endorse the clause which makes the Parliament of Northern Ireland sole arbiter of any change.

**D**URING the debate, Goeffrey Bing, a young Ulster Protestant member for a Labor constituency in England, described the body which administers his native land. Set up in 1920, this subordinate parliament is "responsible for the peace, order, and good government of Northern Ireland," and not much else, direct taxation and other important matters being reserved to Westminster. Authority in any matter, indeed, lies squarely under "the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." In 1922 the new legislature began to take seriously its job of insuring law and order. A spill-over of violence from the insurrectionary south was then feared in the northern counties. The Special Powers Act was brought out—a stiff measure, limited to one year's operation.

Complaint now rises not from the original act, possibly necessary in a period of blood and tears, but from the fact that it has never been repealed. A generation has grown up under it. Quietly through the years its restraints are added to. Offenses for which there was originally a penalty of two years in prison carry, since 1943, a maximum of fourteen years. Public behavior is still assumed to be crisis behavior—potentially. Such matters as treating in public bars or methods of obtaining a bicycle permit are still minutely regulated. The Northern Ireland Minister of Home Affairs, or any police officer to whom he delegates his powers, may suppress any public meeting or newspaper merely by "proclaiming" it. He can order the destruction of any memorial, headstone, or tomb. He can send the owner of any film or phonograph record to prison for a term of years. A unique section provides that "acts not specifically provided for in the regulations" may be deemed against the aims of the code and a magistrate may produce a regulation impromptu for dealing with them. So a citizen, not guilty of violating any particular statute, must hazard a guess of his own as to what part of his behavior is going to be liable to punishment.

A person detained under these regulations is deprived of protections that have hedged the liberty of the subject in Britain for ages. He may be held indefinitely without being charged and without trial. He is allowed no visitors and no messages. He has no access to legal advice. A curious statute deals with the examination of "witnesses" by a resident magistrate. Significantly, it became law in 1933, when the only sign of trouble in Northern Ireland was an ordinary election. It was first employed in a round-up of alleged rioters at the polls. A "witness" may not be accompanied to court by a legal adviser or friend and is specifically not excused from answering questions on the ground that an "answer may incriminate or tend to incriminate himself." Refusal to answer is punishable by penal servitude up to fourteen years.

An armed force 13,000 strong (in a population of one and a third millions) called "B" Specials, assisted by the Royal Irish Constabulary, police these laws. The constabulary are traditional police in a country where Roman Catholics vary from under a third of the population to more than half; on this force, Catholics sometimes get subordinate jobs. "B" Specials are recruited from the Orange Lodges, militant Protestant clubs peculiar to Northern Ireland. They are a part-time police, sporting the colors of the dominant religion, who may be called out at any time but who, whether they are on duty or not, have the power to search premises or question anybody without showing a warrant. Northern Ireland officials point out that these precautions against violence are seldom used. Pressed as to why they are there at all, Belfast men bring the covert use of dynamite and murder out of a not distant past, notably at the beginning of the late war.

**R**EMEMBERING that in democratic societies the vote exists to canalize discontent away from murder and dynamite, one looks at the Northern Ireland franchise. Sure enough, it began to adapt to the needs of a mixed society in the years of direct British rule. In 1919, proportional representation was set up. That year Catholic aldermen in Londonderry, whose supporters outnumbered Protestants by some 500 votes, gained a majority of two on the municipal council of the country's second largest city. Next year the new parliament took over. Proportional representation was dropped. In 1946, notwithstanding a majority of 2,347 Catholic votes in the city as a whole, eight Catholics sat in a council of twenty. This result had been achieved through the years by the careful gerrymandering of wards.

Then a Labor Party raised its alarming head. Labor cut through the religious issue where it could, drawing votes alike from Protestant poor and Catholic poor. Another menace was evident too. Catholic families, usually large and nearly always poor, began to send voters to the polls at a steeply rising rate. And at the end of the

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second World War it became clear that gerrymandering would not forever cancel out the effect of the new self-interest vote, particularly when it combined with a rising Catholic vote. In the year that Great Britain plumped for Labor, the ship-building magnates in Belfast and linen manufacturers throughout the little country were worried. During the next year, 1946, the Northern Ireland Franchise Act was passed.

It restored, quite simply, the plural vote—a practise abandoned in the years following 1840 when wealthy country gentlemen and not wealthy manufacturers ruled a feudal Ireland. Directors of corporations were allowed as many as ten votes in their company's name. On the other hand, persons who could find no domicile in separately taxed property were deprived of the vote. Hundreds of thousands of poorly housed people must stay away from the polls. Among these, some 3,000 returned soldiers were barred from the Londonderry elections after one year unless, in an over-crowded town, they had found separately owned housing. This had one bizarre effect. Because a British charter forbids tampering with the methods by which thirteen North Irish members are sent over the water to the Mother of Parliaments, nearly twice as many Londonderry people can vote for members of that distant concern as may use the ballot to select aldermen in their home town.

Reviewing this denial of democracy, Mr. Bing tried to focus the attention of the Labor Government on its responsibility—in vain, as the vote showed. This is a cautious pre-election year in Britain. But he drilled away manfully at the apathy which settles over Englishmen nowadays at the approach of the Irish question—any Irish question. The restraints of capitalism, developing swiftly in Britain, are stalled north and south in Ireland, he submitted. But in one area the British no longer have a say; in the other they are still overlords. Relief from the "full blast" of capitalism came in the north when the Labor government's new social services were extended there. But if a northern worker is a Catholic he must, with this imported progress, accept at home religious persecution with its major concomitants—an insecure job or none, a nasty experience in using the vote to change the rules of the game. In this generation there have never been enough votes—never quite enough—to modernize anything in Northern Ireland. What then? Violence, he did not deny, sometimes occurs to the Irish mind.

### Next week in The Nation

Will Tom Clark's appointment bring about a

### SUPREME COURT STALEMATE?

BY OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

**W**ASHINGTON—The commission of Second Lieutenant John E. Rudder, only Negro officer in the Marine Corps, has been rescinded. Rudder submitted his resignation charging that he was isolated from other officers at Quantico (Va.) Marine School where he was in training.—*Los Angeles Times*, May 15.

**HEART DANCING ACADEMY**—The "No Liquor Academy"—We will show you over one hundred of the newest ballroom dance steps. . . . Any wholesome, intelligent person is welcome. We are Norwegians, English, Americans.—Advertisement in the *Los Angeles Examiner*, May 8.

**ANY MALE PERSON** of the commonly known white race shall be eligible to membership.—From the membership application blank of the Detroit Sportsmen's Congress, an organization which "plays a major part in every conservation, restoration, and pollution movement."

**THE KU KLUX KLAN** [has] launched a campaign for a "ladies auxiliary" with the threefold aim of "spreading Klan doctrine, carrying out charity, and boosting education."—Recent undated I. N. S. dispatch from Macon, Georgia.

**BALTIMORE**—The Democracy Works Here campaign [a nation-wide drive conducted by national trade associations] was soft-pedaled in this area because of a difficult color situation, with practically all major stores traditionally drawing a well-defined color line.—*Women's Wear Daily*, April 4.

**WE WERE ENJOYING OURSELVES** at Mr. James E. Strates's carnival at the Cen. Fla. Expo the other night. . . . They put a colored boy in a cage with a chimpanzee and tied boxing gloves on both the monkey and the man, rang a bell, and you should have seen the fur fly. The chimp's name is Joe. . . . He throws a mean right or left, his best punch being a one-two over the head, with hammer-like effect. . . . Joe closed the colored boy's left eye tight. The colored boy, like others, volunteered from the audience. They are paid \$1 for every second they stay with the chimp. . . . Once Joe the chimp got going, they had to stop the fight to save the man. . . . We don't know whether it is educational or not. . . . But [it] certainly was a lot of fun at the time.—Martin Andersen in the Orlando (Florida) *Sentinel-Star*, February 27.

**CERTAIN PET CEMETERIES** have very strict rules about whose dogs they inter and how. If the master is not a member of the Caucasian race, his dog will not be accepted for burial; the best a non-Caucasian master can hope for is cremation—for his dog, that is. (Rule 12, Los Angeles Pet Cemetery, 837 Cahuenga Blvd., Hollywood 38, reads: "Only cremation service for those of other than the Caucasian Race.")—Michael Freed in the *Los Angeles B'nai B'rith Messenger*, May 13.

## THE THREAT TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

## II. No Longer Good Neighbors

BY SAMUEL GUY INMAN

**I**N ALL history no government ever made a more profound change in its policy toward its nearby neighbors in so short a time as did the United States in its relations to the other American republics between the early 1930's and the close of World War II. United States armed forces, that had been in Nicaragua since 1912 and in Haiti since 1915, were brought home; the Platt Amendment, which gave this country the right to intervene in Cuba, was abrogated; the right to use force to collect debts owed our citizens was surrendered; the practice of fixing our own tariffs without consultation with other interested parties was abandoned and reciprocal trade agreements substituted; the domination of the Pan American Union by the Department of State was ended.

One of the unforgettable days of my life occurred in 1933 at the Seventh Pan American Conference at Montevideo. Every one of the outstanding Latin American republics had spoken against the intervention so long engaged in by the United States. Mr. Hull's time then came. In that atmosphere, faced with such facts and feelings, the Secretary decided that he could not accept the advice of his delegation to insist upon the right to send troops into Latin America merely on our own authority. With travail of soul, he put his prepared speech in his pocket. To tremendous applause, Mr. Hull announced that the United States would vote for the Treaty on the Rights and Duties of States, the key sentence of which declared: "No nation shall intervene in the internal or external affairs of another state." With that principle admitted, other agreements were comparably easy.

In succeeding conferences at Buenos Aires in 1936, opened by President Roosevelt himself, and at Lima in 1938, it was agreed that the Foreign Ministers of the American republics should meet whenever any of them was threatened. Confidence and the machinery of co-operation were so firmly established that, when the United States was attacked by Japan, all the neighbor republics joined the defense.

Never was there such close cooperation between the countries of a whole continent as between the American republics in fighting the war. The United States poured

machines and technicians into Latin America and those republics changed their whole economy in order to produce the raw materials without which it would have been impossible to seize the offensive in Africa and Europe. Similarly, the southern countries could not have protected themselves from invasion by the Axis without the existence of the United States armed forces.

Today that remarkable cooperation is mostly a matter of memories. The latest break in the Good Neighbor policy is connected with the Rio de Janeiro Defense Pact. Signed in the presence of President Truman and backed by promises of close inter-American military and economic friendship, it became the model for the recent North Atlantic Pact. But when that agreement was drawn up, the State Department failed even to consult its Latin American allies on a matter, which, if war should result, would inevitably involve them all.

Another disappointment in the Rio Pact concerns the question of armaments. Most Latin American countries insisted that the pact should not mean continued enlargement of their armed forces and military budgets when available funds were so desperately needed for roads, schools, and an improved standard of living. But recent United States army, navy, and air missions in the southern countries have encouraged big armament programs with the inevitable result that ambitious military cliques have been in a position to overthrow democratic governments in Peru and Venezuela and have made attempts—so far unsuccessful—to do so in Guatemala and Costa Rica.

Perhaps the principal reason for the tragic collapse of the Good Neighbor Policy is that relations with Latin America are directed these days by minor officials in the Department of State and get practically no attention from those who formerly made and sustained the policy at its high level—the President, the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary, an Assistant Secretary and a special Political Advisor, the last two of whom gave their whole time to Latin American affairs. President Roosevelt himself often spoke at the Pan American Union. During twelve years Secretary Hull headed the United States delegation at Pan American conferences. Sumner Welles always majored in inter-American relations. The late Laurence Duggan, one of the most capable public servants this country ever had, served the cause for a dozen years. Equally consecrated to their jobs were Nelson Rockefeller, Adolf A. Berle, Spruille Braden, and others.

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SAMUEL GUY INMAN, specialist in Latin American affairs, has been an American delegate to many international conferences on this subject. This is the second in a series of articles about Latin American dictatorships.

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Every member of this distinguished group is now out of the government and there are none to take their places. Several of them offered suggestions on how to make the recent Bogotá conference a success, but their advice was ignored. The US delegation went to Bogotá like a hardhearted banker going to meet a client to tell him no more credit could be expected. Acting under the advice of the National Foreign Trade Council of New York and other reactionary business groups, our delegates told the Latin Americans that the way to solve their problems was to follow the example of the United States and stick to rugged individualism and the protection of private property. Washington was overwhelmed with responsibilities in Europe and China, said our representatives, and was unable to help, as we had promised to do the year before in Rio de Janeiro and in other previous conferences. But if the American republics would guarantee the security of private investment, ease the restrictions recently placed on foreign investments, and modify tendencies toward government interference with business, United States private capital would come to the rescue. At that very time Washington was starting the government-directed Marshall Plan, with private business eliminated from direct participation.

The other main cause of failure at Bogotá was the honoring of Latin American dictatorships like that of the Dominican Republic's Trujillo, Nicaragua's Somoza, and Carillas of Honduras. I personally protested to Paul Daniels, head of the American Republics Section of the State Department, for having named representatives of these dictators to important positions in the conference. But I found out that Mr. Daniels felt otherwise.

THE Bogotá conference achieved a number of good results, the most important being the Charter for the Inter-American system, which has now become a regional organization under the United Nations. The Pan American Union was formally recognized as the secretariat of the Organization of American States and three councils were appointed—the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Juridical Council, and the Council on Cultural Affairs. The first important act after the new system was set up was the dispatching of a commission to investigate and act on Costa Rica's charge that Dictator Somoza of Nicaragua had sent armed forces to interfere in Costa Rican affairs.

But this step forward did not prevent dire happenings following the Bogotá conference. Failure to attack the problem of raising living standards in Latin America; the indiscriminate glorification of Latin American dictatorships while laying the blame for the failures of democracy on communism; elimination of the practice of withholding formal recognition of governments gaining power by force pending consultation among members of the Pan American Union, and the adoption instead of a new agreement to continue diplomatic relations with

any government irrespective of the way it secured power: these mistakes had their inevitable consequence. An epidemic of military coups and dictatorial attempts followed in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Not one of the recent coups has been carried out by Communists. All are chargeable to the century-old combination of the military, large property holders, the clerical parties, and Franco's Hispanidad. Last week our alarmed State Department moved to consult with the other American states on how to end the threat to peace in the Caribbean zone.

HAPPILY both Secretary of State Acheson and President Truman, although not primarily interested in Latin America, realize the necessity of retrieving the almost fatal mistakes of recent years. The road is a long one; as a beginning I suggest seven steps to restore the Good Neighbor Policy and return the government of the United States to its acknowledged position of leadership in continental democracy:

1. Return to the custom of having an Assistant Secretary of State who thoroughly understands inter-American problems give his whole time to that subject, thus announcing that recent neglect of this field will no longer continue.
2. Restore the eminently successful policy of consultation on the highest level between Washington and other American republics.
3. Quit glorifying American fascist dictatorships. While continuing formal relations with those already recognized, give clear indication that this government does not approve their tactics and will not go out of its way to assist them.
4. Face the economic problems of the continent by calling an Inter-American Economic Conference, first promised in 1945 and seven times postponed by Washington.
5. Give careful attention, through policy-making members of the government, to the development of the newly constructed Organization of American States and the Pan American Union.
6. End recent indications that the Department of State is inclining toward a return to the discredited policy of pressure and intervention to aid special capitalistic interests.
7. Return to an inclusive, coordinated program of educational, scientific, and cultural activities to keep the peace, raise the standard of living, and enlarge contacts among liberty-loving citizens of all the Americas. As a corollary, remove that part of the personnel of the State Department and our embassies in Latin America which is fascist in sympathy, materialistic, and unable to speak Spanish or Portuguese, and substitute public servants who understand the countries to which they are assigned, and sympathize with the aspirations of their democratic elements.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## *Essays and Asides*

### THINKING MAKES IT SO

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A FRIEND of mine was recently present at a conference of men whose business it is to give away money. They were, in other words, the directors of several large "funds" and they had met to discuss general policy. Only on one thing, he told me, did there seem to be nearly unanimous agreement and that was this: No more major sums for "humanities."

It was not that these gentlemen were doctrinaire materialists or that they had any *a priori* reasons for dismissing literature, philosophy, and the arts. Their arguments were purely pragmatic. "Counting, say, from the time of Plato, your practitioners of the liberal arts have had some twenty-five hundred years in which to show what they could do. That is a very long time as we count it and they have produced very unsatisfactory results. Let's give someone else a chance."

I am glad that I was not present, for the only answer which can be given is not simple. It is all very well to say that wisdom is more important than knowledge and that virtue is more important than efficiency. But what is the wisdom that world literature has accumulated or the virtue it has taught? Poetry and philosophy look as confusing and as contradictory as life itself. Can any one summarize what he has learned from Shakespeare and Cervantes, can anyone reconcile what few conclusions seem to be deductible from them? An innocent Rasselus sent into a library instead of into the world might very likely emerge a year later with the conviction that nothing can be known. He might have met there fellow readers of more advanced age eager to assure him that communion with the great spirits had made them wise. But they could not have told him what they had learned and they would, alas, usually have acted as though it could not have been much.

Often the great poets have celebrated and seemed to admire those moved by the most destructive passions; not in-

frequently they have counseled, in unfortunately well chosen words, the most immoral of attitudes. Horace will tell us that the wise man is he who drains the flagon and chases the girls; Shakespeare might seem to imply that one of the most admirable of human beings did well to lose his own life in a blood bath set to running because he held with an insane intensity to the theological opinion that marriage with a deceased husband's brother constitutes incest. Should the hard-earned money of Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Ford, or even Mr. Carnegie be spent in giving wider circulation to such notions as these?

What then, in all seriousness, does one learn about wisdom and virtue from the poet? The answer is simple. One learns *that they exist*. And if that seems very little perhaps it will seem not unimportant nevertheless when one realizes that no where else can one learn that fact either so well or, perhaps, even at all. All the sciences and techniques, from politics to plumbing, are concerned primarily with ways and means. So too is the day-to-day living of most men. All are methods for getting what one wants without much question concerning why one wants it or whether one ought to want it at all. But that why and that whether are the real subject of all literature; it reminds us continuously that they ought to be inquired into.

Probably the very men who were ready to give up "the humanities" as a bad job are well enough aware or rather well enough able to say, which is not the same thing, that what the world needs most is some sense of values. Probably they have some faint hope that sociology will define them in some formula or science discover them in some test tube. But in neither such way will or can the thing ever come about. Nothing can be made to seem good or

bad merely by doing it, only by contemplating it. And literature is concerned, not with doing things, but with contemplating those things which have been done. From it only one consensus of opinion can be deduced but that one is unanimous. It is not merely that this or that is wise or good but merely that things are either wise or foolish, good or bad in themselves, and that a good deal depends on our decision which is which.

Perhaps this would not be much if any human effort had ever achieved more but the little is supremely important in a world which, outside the realm of literature, seems more and more to doubt not merely that there is "or good or ill" but also, and far more important, that thinking can make it so. The men who give away money in the hope of doing humanity some large service might well consider that the place to look for something is among those who at least assume that it exists.

Few outside a group of somber fanatics any longer believe that man can be understood purely in terms of that fictitious simplification called "the economic man." But some form of the delusion which that belief represented seems always to exist in every attempt, except the literary, to understand him. Just now, certain "realists" are busily insisting that nothing is important unless it can be acted upon—as though man were not a feeling animal as well as an operating animal, as though, in other words, he could be understood in terms of their new fictitious simplification, which makes him nothing except a doer, even though he cannot be understood in the old one which made him nothing except a producer and a consumer of goods.

One reason why literature has never reached easy conclusions is simply that it has never, when it really was literature worthy the name, consented to concern itself with anything less than the whole man or to forget that one of his most important characteristics is the abil-

try to believe that one thing is better than another. This last is all that "a sense of values" really means and it may be that almost any sense of value is better than no sense of value at all.

In any event the world of the humanities is simply that vision of the world in which the question of values is assumed to be the most important question of all. Any one who has ever read much literature has almost inevitably formed the habit of making that fundamental assumption. And if he has not "got anywhere" he has at least stayed somewhere that it is very important that man should stay. In fact that is the only place where he *can* stay and remain Man.

## Men, Women, and Marriage

**EMOTIONAL SECURITY.** By Milton R. Sapirstein, M. D. Crown Publishers. \$3.50.

DR. SAPIRSTEIN'S book is a three-ring affair, and each ring would merit a separate review. Ring one is an attempt at the restatement of modern psychoanalytic theory. Ring two treats the problems of sex and marriage faced by the contemporary urban, sophisticated middle class. Ring three deals with certain specific areas of current psychoanalytic research, including war neurosis, psychosomatic manifestations, the relation between art and neurosis, and the armory of psychiatric therapy to-day.

Ring one, which includes an extensive discussion of childhood sexuality, is perhaps least successful, although the discussion of anxiety and the defenses against it—flight, rage, or dependency—is illuminating. Dr. Sapirstein, from the evidence of the book, belongs to what has been called "the third generation" from Freud. This means that he takes Freud for granted, refuses to get het up over schisms in the analytic world, reads widely in sociology and cultural anthropology, and is not specially interested in "fine" theoretical points. Yet this third generation, sensible and adjusted as it is, has not succeeded in completely Americanizing and empiricizing Freud. Dr. Sapirstein has not digested and yet cannot bring himself to do away with many Freudian terms—such as the well-known trio of ego, super-ego, and Id—which therefore get

in the way of a systematic account of his own theory of personality.

The task of restating Freud for a lay audience is, of course, not an easy one, as the reviewer knows from efforts to make analytic theory reasonably clear to college students. But it will only be done by a more concerted and successful effort than Dr. Sapirstein here makes to return to Freud's text and to retranslate his brilliant and evocative metaphors, which in their literal use have become trivialized and pedestrian. To be sure, Freud tended to think of himself as a pedestrian and meticulous scientist—he admired Goethe, for instance, as a being from another world. But his successors wrong him when they take his view of himself at face value and fail to grasp the meaning and bite of his personal style and poetic insight. Just because Freud is accepted today not only by the third generation of analysts but by the wide reading public, it becomes all the more necessary to save him from the fate of becoming a classic, to be taught in school, recited in texts, and identified with the thought-saving clichés to which he has given rise.

Dr. Sapirstein is much more at home in ring two, where he deals with the marriage and sex *mores* and values of the metropolitan middle class; here he has a great deal to say, based on his observation of patients and of American culture generally. He sees that Americans today are troubled not so much by sexual inhibitions as by their commitment to an impossible ideal of untroubled and uncomplicated genitality—and he observes that the spread of psychoanalytic theory has been one of the contributing factors. The sexual emancipation of women has admitted them to the masculine privilege of fear of impotence; women now fear to be frigid as they once feared to be sterile. At the same time, men have become more insecure sexually before their knowing wives. Both men and women feel that they must be able to take sex, in and out of marriage, "maturely," that is, without emotion, without mutual dependence—a hard-headed, "no nonsense" relation. Dr. Sapirstein demonstrates the anxieties that underlie this fictitious independence: the husband, frightened by the marriage manuals, who has fears that he cannot satisfy his wife—and so runs her down intellectually or gets

headaches; the wife who dares not confess that she goes to bed sometimes just to please her husband; the frightened insistence of each spouse that the other must be "free" for extramarital adventure. Dr. Sapirstein traces these attitudes back to the parents who, under earlier psychiatric guidance, are so afraid of over-protecting their children that they have taught them never to look to another human being when they need help.

As against this, Dr. Sapirstein proposes a new model of marriage in which the partners will not be afraid to admit their fears to each other; he sees the home as a kind of sanctuary of honest mutual dependence from which the spouses can periodically emerge to fight the battles of a competitive society. In such a marriage extramarital relations will not be required to prove one's modernity; nor will they necessarily break up the home; Dr. Sapirstein would like to see married people lead an erotically charged social life which—as more often in Europe than here—leads neither to ignoring the sex of one's dinner partner nor automatically trying to "make" her. As the author points out, many avant-garde intellectuals are today achieving just such marriages; bohemianism has become provincial, a sign of cultural lag.

The tendency of many analysts has been to blame women for the defaults of modern marriage—which is like blaming the Jews for anti-Semitism. Dr. Sapirstein rejects both the attack and its ancillary proposals for returning women to a pre-Freudian state of wearing psychological chastity belts. He sees that even the present state of discontent represents a substantial advance, not only for women who can now cultivate their potentialities—sexual and intellectual—but also for men who can find partners at the same time more enlivening and more dependable. Thus he has perspective on the discomforts of a transitional stage and looks beyond it toward new norms of marriage in which the advances women have made are consolidated. I would criticize him only for not setting his sights high enough—one will find in his book only occasional hints about the variety, the play of roles, the rhythms of sexual interest and inertia which characterize the best modern marriages. But perhaps he is right to be cautious in positive recom-

mendations. For his repeated finding is that people whose marriage is, all things considered, pretty good, nevertheless ransack Kinsey and the psychoanalytic literature to see whether they have got the "best buy" on the affection market; this is a kind of consumers' research that goes on steadily at the high-brow level.

After these pleasures Dr. Sapirstein's third ring is somewhat of a let-down, though it contains many valuable things. One of these is his comparison of the traumatic neuroses of war with the very similar forms seen under the almost equally disruptive conditions of so-called peace. When one reads for example about soldiers suffering from intense apathy, unable to react strongly to anything, their cases do not sound to me so different from those of civilians who have developed their trained incapacity for affect over a longer time span. In the section on analytic therapy Dr. Sapirstein makes some very interesting suggestions as to how the modern analyst eclectically adapts his treatment to the stage in the patient's non-chronological life cycle at which he enters analysis; here again he is on sound empirical ground. When he deals, however, with intellectual and artistic creativeness, he verges, as he also does in his treatment of marriage, on an over-acquiescent philosophy of adjustment. He thinks that people may have too much spontaneity, too much creativeness, and hence may be unable "to make the strategic retreat into an orderly existence."

If the author means merely that compulsion is not spontaneity, even when it goes under that label, he is right by definition. But he seems to mean more: he seems to take "orderly existence" as a norm no matter what the state of the society. Thus he ranges himself, though only to a degree, alongside those intellectuals who attack other intellectuals for their refusal to adjust, as against those who focus their attack on the society for failing to live up to its avant-garde. Like Freud, he seems to prefer the endlessly productive and un-

troubled Michelangelo to the more tentative and experimental Leonardo. Yet on the whole Dr. Sapirstein is himself tentative and experimental. The third generation from Freud has very little of grandfather's dogmatism, which indeed is a sign of its adjustment.

DAVID RIESMAN

### The Charismatic Arts

FOUR FAVOURITES. By D. B. Wyndham Lewis. Longmans, Green and Company. \$3.50.

HENRY V, who was not given to idle theorizing, speaks during his courtship of certain "makers of manners" who "cannot be confined within the weak list of a country's fashion." The phenomenon caught the attention of Max Weber, who endowed the distinction with the prestige of science, and the unconfined with the designation "charismatic." Samuel Butler too was enticed, and divided his fictional characters into "hewers of wood" and "children of the sun." Then Friedrich Nietzsche drove a wedge between man and superman. And later William Bolitho attempted to trace the trajectories of twelve human comets who, burning their way through the atmosphere of the commonplace, ruptured, by the very brilliancy of their gifts, the constellation of the world's manners. Now D. B. Wyndham Lewis in his "Four Favourites" has added to the growing collection another case study in the charismatic arts.

The artists in this case are Pompadour, Melbourne, Potemkin, and Godoy. Apart from the fact that they were all born in the eighteenth century, what holds these centrifugal notables together is a shared talent for success, an inexplicable ability to beat the odds or get by on nothing which has always been the stock in trade of the favorite and the envy of the rest of the world. Mr. Lewis purports "to survey the entertaining trajectories of this international quartet, to contemplate the influence they exerted, and if they fell to discern the reason." Actually he does nothing of the kind. He does supply a short narrative biography for each figure, chronicling their public careers and dwelling at some length on their special gifts, quirks, and rivalries. But there is not enough sustained concentration on

rise and fall to throw any light on the secret of success. As a result the trajectories are not entertaining, the reason for the fall is never discerned, and the surveys themselves are dull and disconnected, bristling, as a matter of fact, with fatuity like the following: "Lord Melbourne died at Brocket Hall on November 24, 1848, at the age of sixty-nine, and his brother succeeded to the title, which became extinct five years later. 'Though not a *firm* minister,' wrote the Queen in her diary, 'he was a noble, kindhearted, generous being.' What is now the city of Melbourne on the Yarra River in Victoria, Australia, was named after him in 1835."

Such vapidity might ordinarily be dismissed, but Mr. Lewis has become such a chronic bore that his consistency in this respect merits attention. In fact, Lewis only uses the genre of historical adventure-to indicate the stodginess of contemporary society, the point being that D. B. Wyndham Lewis is the charismatic soul in our midst. He it is who flies the herd, cries shame at massed ignorance, and boldly challenges the high priests of modern superstition. In return for this noble service he will, he makes clear, suffer a martyr's death at the hands of those corrupt defenders of the status quo, the historians and the democrats.

On the first page of his preface Mr. Lewis asserts that he has to rescue his characters from the contempt of "high-minded historians." Elsewhere he makes it clear that historians are dry pedants

burying life in dusty files, making the picturesque drab, and the heroic routine. Doubtless the point is well taken. Of late historians have given credence to the notion that a lot of learning is a dangerous thing. But it is hardly the prerogative of the ignorant to draw the line. Moreover, Mr. Lewis's yearning for accuracy is so short of passionate that his independence of historical tradition, while established, is hardly venial. He could not, for instance, get many historians to join him in calling Frederick the Great "Frederick-William II." And few would care to defend the proposition that the Versailles treaty of 1756 was "surprisingly advantageous to the French." Obviously in these cases being in the minority does not prove Mr. Lewis right.

Though just as wrong, Mr. Lewis is

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August 13, 1949

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less unique in the possession of anti-democratic opinions. That he has them is made sufficiently clear by his flattering references to the loathsome liars of the Action Française. But more revealing are his strenuous efforts to place himself in an oppressed minority. One would gather from his book that Mr. Lewis is the last living admirer of eighteenth-century England, the sole defender of the rococo, and the lone critic of twentieth-century nationalism. The unnamed others, the enemies, are all uncritical admirers of the present, mere panders to the democratic spirit of the age. Their alleged opposition constitutes Mr. Lewis's strength. He proves his case, in other words, by asserting its unpopularity.

The lesson of this inversion is that it has become fashionable to be unfashionable. The knowing writer admits only to having numerous enemies. He and the gentle reader, it is intimated, stand alone in the fight against the world. An odd sort of flattery, to be sure, but one that encourages an author to pass off the most innocuous drivel as shocking revelation, and allows his reader to be comfortably heretical. The result, as illustrated in "Four Favourites," is a debasement of the charismatic art of cultural leadership.

JOSEPH KRAFT

### The Turner Hypothesis

*WESTWARD EXPANSION.* By Ray Allen Billington, with the collaboration of James Blaine Hedges. The Macmillan Company. \$8.50.

IN THIS well-dressed book of 873 pages the authors attempt, as Professor Billington says, "to follow the pattern Frederick Jackson Turner might have used had he ever compressed his voluminous researches on the American frontier within one volume."

The Turner thesis was set forth in the famous paper read at the 1893 meeting of the Chicago Historical Association on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." In that "historical declaration of independence" Turner asserted that "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development."

Like all trail-blazers, Turner begot

followers who reduced his hypothesis to such an absurdity as to make it appear that all our democratic virtues reposed in the hairy chests of tobacco-chawin' frontiersmen forever looking the world in the eye and telling it to go to Hell. You can still see the horrible effects of ultra-Turnerism today in Texas where back-slapping law clerks totter painfully about in high-heeled cowboy boots and brush salesmen in sombreros are just too folksy to be endured. Though he accepts Turner's basic doctrine, Professor Billington, who teaches history at Northwestern University, remarks that "Few would agree today that the westward moving 'area of free land' alone explains 'American development'; indeed Turner himself was less guilty of such overstatement than some of his too enthusiastic disciples." In the jargon of the historian—a jargon which to the annoyance of the layman, Professor Billington too often employs—"the physiographic basis of sectionalism," and the "non-economic space concept" of Turner are opposed to the "complex social phenomenon" of westward expansion. From the "swarming" of the Puritans out of the Old Bay Colony to the rise of the Populists and the closing of the frontier in the nineties, the author traces the successive migrations with emphasis on the political and economic phases of the phenomenon. This is indeed a man-sized undertaking and if at times the Billington-Hedges reach exceeds the grasp what's an historian's heaven for?

The authors dwell long, at times it seems overlong, on the Spanish and French frontiers which, after all, had small effect upon American development. However, the realistic and carefully documented description of the day's work of miners, trappers, stockmen, and farmers is a healthy antidote to the stereotype "Western." In the last chapter there is a shrewd appraisal of the superficial quality of what was called Western "radicalism." Dr. Billington says of it, "Its periodical protests were really leveled against change and its fundamental desire was to maintain the democratic, agrarian, social order of the eighteenth century in the increasingly industrialized world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."

This hefty tome adds to our knowledge of how Americans everywhere

came to be what we are today. Though often it is rather pompously pedantic, and its style is a bit stuffy in contrast to Turner's pleasing presentation, "Westward Expansion" is a worthwhile revision and expansion of the Turner hypothesis and should remain for some time to come the authoritative last word on our frontier experience.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

## Books in Brief

*DOWN THAT PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY.* By Roger Stephens. New York: Roger Stephens. \$7.50. Roger Stephens is probably the first to have traveled the entire distance of the Pan-American Highway from the United States to the Panama Canal. His actual transportation cost was \$140.14, from Texas to the Canal, but it can be done for \$100. His book tells the story from a number of angles. Tabulated details on road conditions and costs are followed by general descriptions and a travel narrative of much charm. This combination of guidebook, compendium, and travelogue, well printed and illustrated, is well worth the attention of all who are interested in getting about in, and understanding, Mexico and Central America.

*PUBLIC HEALTH IN THE WORLD TODAY.* Edited by James Stevens Simmons. Harvard. \$5. A symposium of papers delivered at the Harvard Public Health Forum on the science and art of keeping people well. An impressive record of accomplishment and of plans for the future.

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**PARENT AND CHILD.** By Catherine Mackenzie. Sloane. \$2.95. Here is advice to the harried parent written from the point of view of an honest and effective reporter who has sought out the best professional sources and who tries to interpret the material for the lay public. Reprinted from the author's newspaper series, it suffers from a lack of continuity and cohesiveness, a fault almost inevitable in this type of collected material.

**ABBE DAVID'S DIARY.** Translated and Edited by Helen M. Fox. Harvard. \$5. The diary of a French naturalist and missionary who travelled extensively in China and Mongolia eighty years ago collecting specimens for the Paris Museum of Natural History. Quietly interesting.

## Films

MANNY FARBER

WHILE "The Great Gatsby" is a limp translation of Fitzgerald's novel about the tasteless twenties, magical mid-Westerners on Long Island, and the champion torch-bearing hero in American literature, it captures just enough of the original to make it worth your while and rekindle admiration for a wonderful book. Its characters are like great lumps of oatmeal maneuvering at random around each other, but it tepidly catches the wistful tragedy of a jilted soldier (Alan Ladd) who climbs the highest mountains of racketeering and becomes an untalented socialite, trying to win back his Daisy (Betty Field) from a hulking snob and libertine (Barry Sullivan). Etched in old MGM-Renaissance style Fitzgerald's panorama of the twenties takes on the heavy, washed-out, inaccurate dedication-to-the-past quality of a Radio City mural. Save for an occasional shot—the rear of a Long Island estate studded with country-club architecture and bulky town cars—that shrieks of the period, the

movie has little to offer of Fitzgerald's glory-struck but acrid perceptions of period, place, and East Egg society. The cottage scene, with an added touch of Booth Tarkington, talks and moves, as little else of the movie does, with some complication and emotional development.

Director Nugent's forte is the country-club set tinkling delicately against each other amidst stupified living-room furniture, but it only appears in the scenes at Daisy's and the Plaza, which have a timeless aura and show the leisure class at customary half-mast—summery weather, a glitter due to Betty Field's delight with her role, and tasteful, knee-waisted dresses. The crucial lack is that Gatsby, Daisy, the cynical Jordan, don't have enough charm to explain the story; in fact, they don't have much more than the weary hulks that are currently beached on Long Island. Owing to a tired director who, however, knows the book with uncommon shrewdness, and Fitzgerald's inspired dialogue combined with slow, conservative movie images this peculiarly mixed movie draws the most vociferous, uneasy audience response.

It would take a Von Stroheim to cast Fitzgerald's characters, each as fabulous as Babe Ruth, but rendered with the fragmentary touches of a Cezanne watercolor; the cast is routine for Paramount (Ladd, Da Silva, Macdonald Carey—Frank Faylen, a studio perennial, must have been sick) and inspired only in the case of Betty Field, whose uninhibited, morbid-toned art blows a movie apart. Ladd might have solved the role of Gatsby if it had consisted, as his normal role does, of shocking, constant movement, no acting, and trench coats. An electric, gaudily graceful figure in action movies, here he has to stand still and project turbulent feeling, succeeding chiefly in giving the impression of an isinglass baby-face in the process of melting. He seems to be constantly in pain, and this, occasionally, as in the touching cottage scene, coincides with Gatsby's. As a matter of fact, he gives a pretty good impression of Gatsby's depressed, non-public moments. Barry Sullivan streamlines the aging (30) football player ("if we don't look out the white race will be—will be utterly submerged. It's all scientific stuff") into a decent, restless gentleman whose

nostrils constantly seem horrified. For a dismal C Western star, Sullivan is surprisingly deft and subtle in a role that has become meaningless without the sentimentality, fears, and shockingly comic scenes with Myrtle's circle (probably dropped because they were too cinematic).

Betty Field is no more marked by Southern aristocracy than a cheese blintz, but she plays Daisy with her usual incredible daring and instinctive understanding. She hits the role (compulsive, musical voice; scared sophistication) so hard, giving Daisy a confused, ineffectual intensity, missing some of the scintillating charm, that her creation is a realistic version of the character Fitzgerald set up simply as a symbol for Gatsby to dream about. The music of the period, when it is played right, is heartbreaking, and Elisha Cook captures this nostalgia for a few minutes at Gatsby's grand piano.

Academic Broadway veteran that he is, Elliot Nugent implies in his direction that the period and terrain—so consistently primary and wondrous to Fitzgerald—are simply a backdrop. In place of the wasteland of ashes that surrounds Wilson's garage, morbidly counterpointing the story's death-ridden conclusion, there are fleeting glimpses of a humdrum dumping ground. The huge, chaotic parties are a dispiriting blur of Arthur Murray dancing, Muzak orchestrations, stock drunks with one individualized detail (the stridently sequined stage twins) in place of the dozen needed to build the atmosphere that draws New York's night life to Gatsby's door. Fitzgerald's broken story structure has been straightened so that the movie flows slowly without break through routine stage sets. In the occasional place where a contrasting shot is slashed into the "Old Man River" development, the strategy, because of its rarity, produces more excitement than the image warrants—the oculist's billboard, with the enormous spectacled eyes, steals the movie.

**Correction:** In R. W. Flint's review, in the last issue, of "Quest for Myth" by Richard Chase, the book was described at one point, thanks to a printer's error, as "Human and humanistic." The phrase should have read "Human and humanistic."

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## Records

B. H.  
HAGGIN

"AFTER ALL," a friend remarked, estimating the importance of the RCA Victor recording we were going to listen to—of Mozart's Quartet K.421 played by the Hungarian Quartet—"it isn't just Budapest but all Hungary." And that, in a way, is how it turned out: what came off the records was the fabulous perfection of sound, phrasing, and ensemble, the grace and elegance that I had experienced previously only in the playing of the Budapest Quartet—but produced this time by a group of players more beautifully matched in tone and style, and with a youthful freshness which is gone from the Budapest performances. And so this Hungarian Quartet performance is a great and exciting event—like the first appearances here of Guido Cantelli last season. It is excellently reproduced, with some variation in volume and brilliance from one side to the next, by the original 78 r.p.m. recording (DM-1299, 3 12"), and with the added quiet of the vinylite surfaces, except for a couple of rough spots, by the 45 r.p.m. dubbing (WDM-1299, 3 7").

Victor also offers one of Debussy's least familiar works, "Jeux," which he composed in 1912 for the ballet by Nijinsky. When Ansermet performed it with the N. B. C. Symphony in January 1948 Virgil Thomson wrote that "it represents at its ultimate that tendency toward pulverization, toward the attenuation of musical materials into a luminous and golden dust, of which 'La Mer' and 'Images' are earlier examples." My way of putting it would be that played as a concert piece it sounds like an orchestral étude—an exercise in the Debussy orchestral idiom and style; and that it is a curious experience to hear the familiar fragments one has heard previously associated with various images now associated with nothing, and without even the significance that was imparted to them by the movements of the ballet. A curious experience, but not something to be listened to as a piece of music. De Sabata's performance with the Rome Augusteo Orchestra seems excellent, and is reproduced with richness

and spaciousness by the original 78 r.p.m. recording (DM-1276, 2 12") and the 45 r.p.m. dubbing (WDM-1276 2 7").

Then, in one package, Bach's Suites Nos. 1 and 4 performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony. No. 1 is all straw; No. 4 has an *Allegro* section in the opening movement and a *Bourée* that are very fine. I know they are from hearing them in the old Busch Chamber Players performance; I wouldn't know if I had heard them only rattled off by Koussevitzky. This is the kind of music he can do nothing with or for; and some of it needs a lot done for it. The orchestra makes beautiful sounds which are well reproduced on 78 (DM-1307, 5 12") and 45 (WDM-1307, 5 7").

As for single records, Rimsky-Korsakov's Dance of the Buffoons gets a suitably rip-roaring performance by Fiedler with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra (with Albéniz's "Triana" on the reverse side of 12-0929 on 78 and 49-0437 on 45). The eight pieces by Haydn entitled "The Musical Clocks," which Biggs has recorded on the organ (10-1471 on 78, 49-0419 on 45), seem

to me inconsequential. And the Gigli voice at its robustly sumptuous best—though not without the Gigli sob—is to be heard in a mellifluous aria from Giordano's "Fedora"—this on the reverse side of the record (10-1475 on 78, 49-0436 on 45) on which, unpleasantly altered in quality, it is to be heard in a bawling, shouting performance of *Di quella pira* from "Il Trovatore" that brings to mind Shaw's description of "that dynasty of execrable imposters in tights and tunics, interpolating their loathsome B flats into the beautiful melodies they could not sing, and swelling with conceit when they were able to finish *Di quella pira* with a high C capable of making a stranded man-of-war recoil off a reef in mid-ocean."

### CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID RIESMAN is Professor of the Social Sciences in the College of the University of Chicago.

JOSEPH KRAFT is a history fellow at Princeton University.

MCALISTER COLEMAN is working on a book entitled "A History of the Plain People."

## Letters to the Editors

### Doctor's Rights

Dear Sirs: I read with great interest the article *The People's Right to Health* in *The Nation* of July 9. I think the article confirms, probably involuntarily, the justified fear of the medical profession against state medicine.

There are especially two points which need discussion. One is control of medicine by laymen, and the other is loss of civil liberties. I can understand that *The Nation*, run by laymen, should not be too much perturbed by seeing medicine being controlled by laymen; and it will take too much to explain the danger in such a system for the entire public. That *The Nation* should be indifferent to the loss of civil liberty, even for a small group, is more astonishing to me. I particularly refer to the following paragraph in Mr. Williams's article: "In more than thirty areas, mostly seaside resorts and upper-class residential districts, new general practitioners have been forbidden to settle, so that they will establish themselves where there is more genuine need."

If a system which is designed for the public welfare only can function properly by assigning or forbidding an individual the place where he wishes to live, the question seriously arises whether such a system is desirable. After all, in a free country up to now only the emergency of war was considered sufficient justification to force people to move to some places which are not of their own choosing. I will not even go into the question of how a decent relationship can develop between a physician forced to stay in a certain place and his patients.

I think the general question of whether such measures for the social good are justified if they can be accomplished only by depriving a certain group of people of their liberties, is the one on which *The Nation* should take a stand one way or the other.

FREDERICK P. BORNSTEIN, M. D.

Herrin, Illinois, July 14

[Readers are invited to comment on this subject.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

### The Christian Attitude

Dear Sirs: I ask to be permitted to exercise my right to freedom of expression which, as an American citizen, I have been promised by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

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I want to express my indignation over the letter to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, written by America's Cardinal. It seems, however, that there are certain restrictions imposed upon the voicing of indignation when it is directed to the churchmen of one sect, which do not operate when directed to other sects. In this phenomenon lies something un-American, and analogous to the restrictions of totalitarianism, be it Nazism, fascism, or communism.

With good reason straight-thinking people distrust all "isms," and there may be great significance in the fact that democracy and Christianity are not "isms."

It is incredible that an uncalled-for public attack could be made in this country against any honorable citizen. When it is made against a woman who is respected by millions of people, of many lands and faiths, for her tireless efforts specifically on behalf of human freedom, human rights, and human dignity, which the attack violates, one sees again the analogy to the totalitarian method. That it should be exercised by a spokesman for organized religion, in publicly calling to account one over whom he has no authority whatever, is nothing short of alarming.

Behind the iron curtain communism attacks the Catholic church. In our own free country the Catholic church attacks a universally honored woman.

I have read carefully Mrs. Roosevelt's words which allegedly caused the attack upon her. After an equally careful reading of the Cardinal's words I find that his attack is directed against neither the letter nor the spirit of what Mrs. Roosevelt has written!

I am, therefore, left no choice but to assume that this attack is even more malicious and significant than it appears to be. Certainly it falls so far short of the Christian attitude as to place itself squarely in the "ism" class.

Should such attacks continue to be tolerated by the public in this country, I believe that this country, too, will fall ill of the disease which is slowly eating its way through the world.

NANCY BARTLETT LAUGHLIN

Spring Valley, N. Y., Aug. 1

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1 What iron  
6 1 do  
9 Fust  
10 This  
(7)  
11 Mak  
12 Hood  
(6)  
13 Wat  
15, 24, 1  
spirit  
16 Perf  
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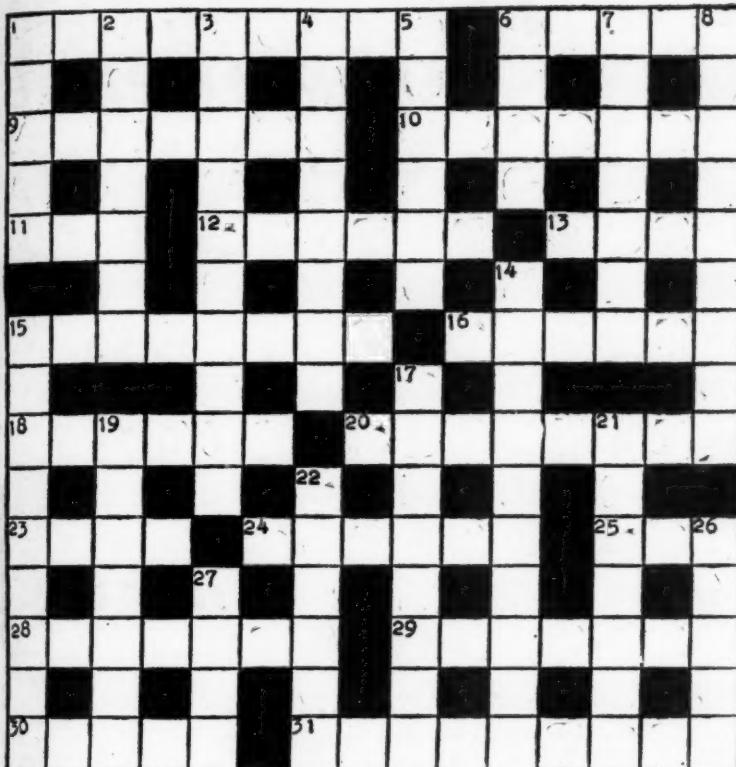
1 See  
2 Dire  
(7)

Re  
re

August 1

# Crossword Puzzle No. 322

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 What scouts learn is certainly not iron-clad! (9)  
 6 1 down had an invitation to one. (5)  
 9 Fustian. (7)  
 10 This sort of rigging is a swindle. (7)  
 11 Make one when you get home. (3)  
 12 Hooker might have been an old boy. (6)  
 13 Waterless gashouse. (4)  
 15, 24, 19 and 31 Anthony said Caesar's spirit would. (3, 5, 3, 3, 4, 3, 4, 2, 3)  
 16 Perhaps Drew had one of his articles omitted—he would be the third in one case. (6)  
 18 Untangle us, lest a fight result. (6)  
 20 Instrument for 21 perhaps, if you feel plucky! (8)  
 22 Chief ocean or river. (4)  
 24 See 15 across.  
 25 This sort of wig simply crawls. (3)  
 28 Lie in a furrow, and sort of hunt around. (7)  
 29 Between ourselves, there's nothing lost in jails. (7)  
 30 You might get the general drift here. (5)  
 31 See 15 across.

## DOWN

1 See 6 across. (6)  
 2 Director but not head of a province. (7)

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 321

ACROSS:—1 POLICE STATIONS; 8 WINDING-SHEET; 10 EASY CHAIRS; 11 FAST; 13 MAORIS; 14 REVELLER; 16 GREMLINS; 17 SHOWED; 18 ZEAL; 20 PALATINATE; 22 COLD SHOULDER; 23 QUARTERMASTERS.

DOWN:—1 POWDER MAGAZINE; 2 LONG-SHOREMAN; 3 CHINCHILLA; 4 SIGNAL; 5 ABHORRED; 6 EMIT; 7 CULTURED PEARLS; 9 TALLOW CANDLE; 12 TECHNIQUES; 15 UNSADDLE; 18 SACHEM; 21 BOER.

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